

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY APRIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 2305

EXDIS

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, NATO, CSCE, US, PL
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS: VIEW OF PZPR-CC SECRETARY RYSZARD
FRELEK

REF: STATE 064799

1. FRELEK AND I HAD LUNCH APRIL 1. HE DEVOTED MOST
OF HIS TIME TO WARNING ME, IN HIS MOST REASONABLE AND
PLAUSIBLE LFPNER, THAT THE USG'S PURSUIT OF THE HUMAN-
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RIGHTS VIS-A-VIS THE USSR AND THE OTHER WARSAW
PACT (WP) STATES RISKED STARTING A "LITTLE COLD WAR"
(A PHRASE HE USED AT LEAST THREE TIMES), CONSTITUTED
IMPERMISSIBLE "INTERFERENCE" IN THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIRS,
AND WAS ALMOST AS LITTLE APPRECIATED BY THE ITALIAN
CHRISTIANS DEMOCRATS, WEST GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, AND
FRENCH AND BELGIAN LEADERS (WHOSE VIEWS HE HAS HEARD

DURING RECENT TRIPS) AS BY THE WP REGIMES.

2. FRELEK SAID: "WITH DETENTE, A LOT OF PROGRESS CAN BE MADE ON HUMAN RIGHTS. WITHOUT DETENTE OR AGAINST DETENTE, NO PROGRESS CAN BE MADE ON HUMAN RIGHTS."

3. WE DEBATED THE ISSUE INCONCLUSIVELY, BUT WITHOUT ACRIMONY. I TOLD FRELEK IT WAS RIDICULOUS TO CHARACTERIZE THE STATEMENTS AND MEETINGS OF THE PRESIDENT, VICE PRESIDENT, AND SECRETARY AS "INTERFERENCE," A WORD WHICH HAD QUITE A SPECIFIC MEANING IN INTERNATIONAL LAW. I OUTLINED FOR HIM THE ARGUMENTATION CONTAINED IN REF AND GAVE HIM A NON-PAPER DRAWN FROM IT.

4. FRELEK SAID IT WAS ONE THING TO MAKE GENERAL STATEMENTS AND ANOTHER TO APPEAL FOR SUPPORT TO "OPPOSITION FORCES," AS, FOR EXAMPLE, RFE DID WHEN IT DISCUSSED THE WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE (WDL). I SAID I WAS NOT AWARE OF SUCH APPEALS. IF HE COULD GIVE ME EXAMPLES, WE COULD TAKE THEM UNDER ADVISEMENT, ALTHOUGH I COULD CERTAINLY NOT COMMIT THE SUPERVISORY BODY, THE BOARD FOR INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING, WHICH WAS ULTIMATELY RESPONSIBLE TO THE CONGRESS. FRELEK SAID PERHAPS RFE HAD NOT MADE SUCH APPEALS IN SO MANY WORDS, BUT THE EFFECT OF ITS BROADCASTS WAS CERTAINLY TO OFFER SUPPORT FOR THE WDL. I SAID THAT RFE WOULD CERTAINLY REPORT THE ACTIVITIES OF SUCH BODIES AS THE WDL, SINCE THEY WERE LEGITIMATE NEWS AND SINCE POLISH DOMESTIC MEDIA, BY THEIR NEGLECT OF THEM, LEFT A GAP WHICH A MEDIUM DEALING WITH NEWS ABOUT CONFIDENTIAL

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POLAND FOR A POLISH AUDIENCE COULD HARDLY FAIL TO FILL.

5. SO FAR AS SUPPORT FOR "OPPOSITION FORCES" WAS CONCERNED, I SAID, WE HAD INTERPOSED NO OBJECTION WHEN GIEREK MET WITH GUS HALL IN NEW YORK AND WOULD INTERPOSE NONE TO ANY SUCH MEETINGS ANYWHERE. FRELEK SAID GIEREK HAD TOLD HALL ABOUT THE DEVELOPMENT OF US-POLISH RELATIONS AND HALL HAD APPROVED. THAT WAS THE LIMIT OF THEIR DISCUSSION. I SAID IT WAS GOOD TO HEAR THAT, BUT THE MERE FACT OF SUCH A MEETING CONSTITUTED A KIND OF SUPPORT.

6. WITH REGARD TO WHAT HE HAD SAID ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS, I OFFERED FRELEK MY COMPLIMENTS ON THE MANY ARTICLES ON THE SUBJECT NOW APPEARING ON THE POLISH PRESS. THEY WERE CRITICAL OF US, I SAID, BUT THAT WAS FIAR ENOUGH. FRELEK SAID HE SUPPOSED I REGARDED THE APPEARANCE OF THOSE ARTICLES AS A SUCCESS FOR OUR CAMPAIGN. I SAID I DID.

7. IN RESPONSE TO HIS REFERENCES TO THE CRITICISM OF UNNAMED ITALIAN DEMOCRISTIANS, WEST GERMAN AND BELGIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, AND FRENCH GISCARDIENS, I SAID IT WAS INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT, ON THIS ISSUE, THE ITALIAN AND FRENCH COMMUNISTS SHARED SOME OF THE CRITICISMS WE HAD OF THE RECORD IF THE WP COUNTIRES. FRELEK ACKNOWLEDGED THIS, ADDING THAT HE HAD COMPLAINED TO THE ITALIAN CONRADES ABOUT THEIR PUBLICATION IN UNITA OF DESPATCHES FROM "BOURGEOIS" WIRE SERVICES IN EVENTS IN POLAND. HE HAD ASKED THEM, HE SAID, HOW THEY WOULD LIKE IT IF THE POLISH PRESS PUBLISHED STORIES FROM THE ITALIAN "BOURGEOIS" PRESS ABOUT ALLEGED MALFEASANCE IN THE COMMUNIST-DOMINATED CITY GOVERNMENTS OF BOLOGNA, NAPLES, AND OTHER CITIES. THE ITALIAN CONRADES, HE SAID, ALLOED THAT THEY WOULDN'T LIKE THAT. COMMENT: IF FRELEK UTTERED THIS THREAT, I TRUST THE ITALIAN CONRADES ARE SHREWD
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ENOUGH TO REALIZE HOW LITTLE LIKELIHOOD THERE IS THAT THE POLISH COMMUNIST PRESS WILL IMPLEMENT IT IN ANY OTHER THAN AN EXEMPLARY FASHION, I.E., BY PUBLISHING ONE ARTICLE IN ONE PAPER. PUBLICATION OF ARTICLES CRITICAL OF ITALIAN CP MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES WOULD SIMPLY EVOKE KNOWING COMMENTS FROM POLISH READERS THAT COMMUNISTS ARE EQUALLY CORRUPT EVERYWHERE AND DEMANDS THAT ANALOGOUS ARTICLES BE PUBLISHED ON POLISH LOCAL AUTHORITIES. END COMMENT.

ZYM COMMENT: FRELEK'S REMARKS WERE MOST REVEALING IN WHAT THEY OMITTED. HE MADE NO LINK BETWEEN THE US-SOVIET TALKS IN MOSCOW AND THE HUMAN-RIGHTS ISSUE, NOR DID HE FORESHADOW THE LIKELIHOOD THAT A LINK WOULD BE MADE BETWEEN HUMAN RIGHTS AND OTHER SUBJECTS OF EAST-WEST INTEREST. ON THE CONTRARY, BY TALKING ABOUT A "LITTLE COLD WAR," HE SEEMED TO IMPLY THAT THE HUMAN-RIGHTS ISSUED WOULD BE HANDLED AS A PROBLEM SEPARATE FROM OTHERES. WITH REGARD TO US-POLISH RELATIONS (SEPTTEL), HE EXPRESSED UNQUALIFIED HOPE FOR CONTINUED GOOD RELATIONS AND FURTHER GROWTH IN TRADE.

7. ALMOST SURELY, THE WAY FRELEK TREATED THE HUMAN-RIGHTS ISSUE REFLECTS HIS LACK OF AUTHORIZATION TO CROSS BRIDGES BEFORE THEY ARE TO COME, RATHER THAN ANY FOREKNOWLEDGE OF HOW EITHER THE SOVIETS OR HIS OWN LEADERSHIP WILL REACT TO CONTINGENCIES. NEVERTHELESS, HIS BASICALLY OPTIMISTIC ATTITUDE AND TOME SEEM TO SHOW THAT THE POLISH LEADERSHIP DOES NOT EXPECT ANY SHARP CHANGE IN THE GENERAL LINE. END COMMENT.
DAVIES

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